A REME-
DY FOR SEDI-
TION, VVHERIN
ARE CON-
TEYNED

many thynges, concernyng the true and loyall obeysance, that com-mẽs owe vnto their prince and soueraygne lorde the kynge.

Ā

ANNO. M. D. XXXVI.

5,308



VHO SO EVER well conſidereth with hym ſelfe the hyghe commodyties, þ come of good lawes, he wyl, I am right aſſured, that as diuine Plato thought, all thoſe lawes that are made for the welthe and ſafegarde of mankynde, to be of god, all be it they be conſtituted by manne: on the other ſyde, he that wel pondereth the damages, that of neceſſitie muſt folowe, where eyther none be, that rule, or fewe that wyll obeye, ſhall thynke as I doo, all realmes, regions, cities, and townes, that are not gouerned by lawes, to be foreſtes of wyld beaſtis, and not places habytable for men. We lacke noo good lawes, god be thanked: but what auayle they, whan as Diogenes ſayth, men that are good, nede them lyttell, and they that be euylle, are neuer the better for them? Surely in tyme of ſedition, lawes leſe their voyces, or to ſay better, in ſuche ragious outcries of ſouldiours, noyſe and brayeng of horſes, clutterynge and tenglynge of harneys, men ware thicke of herynge. Juſtyce hydeth her face, whanne ſhe ſeeth this to be alowed for a lawe, He that is the ſtronger, ſhall oppreſſe and ſpoylle the weaker, and no man ſaye he dothe euyll. Honeſtie canne not abyde, there where myght ſytteth aboue right, where wyll is ſkyll, where treaſon ſtandeth for reaſon. Whan euery man wyll rule, who ſhall obeye? Howe can there be any common welthe, where he that is welthyeſt, is mooſte lyke to come to woo? Who can there be ryche, where he that is

ryches, is in moste daunger of pouertie? No no, take welth by the hande, and say farewell welthe, where lustes is lyked, and lawe refused, where vp is sette downe, and downe sette vppe: An order, an order muste be hadde, and a waye founde, that they rule that beste can, they be ruled, that mooste it becommeth so to be. This agrement is not onely expedient, but also moste necessary in a common welthe, those that are of the worser sort, to be content, that the wyser reule and gouerne them, those that nature hath endewed with synguler vertues, and fortune without breache of lawe, set in hyghe dignitie, to suppose this done by the great prouydence of god, as a meane to engender loue and amitie, betwene the highe and the lowe, the small & the great, the one beynge so necessary for thothers safegarde welthe and quietnes. For as there must be some men of polycie and prudence, to discerne what is metest to be done in the gouerment of states, euen so there muste be other of strength and redynes, to do that the wyser shall thynke expedient, both for the mayntenaunce of them that gouerne, and for theschewyng of the infinite ioperdies, that a multitude not gouernid falleth into: These must not go, arme in arme, but the one before, the other behynde, wyt and prudence muste be as maysters of a worke, and appoynt strengthe and redynesse their taske. For vndoutedly, boldnes dothe neuer well, excepte it come, and do as reason commaundeth it to do. Sertorius that prudent Capitayne, shewed this by a prety exaumple, he had two souldiours

diours in his campe, thone lyttell, weake, and in maner of no ſtrength, but very wyſe: thother high, bygge and full of bones, but voyde of brayne. He had alſo two horſes, thone galyarde, luſty, and of a thycke tayle, thother leane, lyttell, and almoſte without a tayle. He appoynted the lyttell man, to pull of the great horſe tayle, the bygge and ſturdy ſoudiour to pull of thoſe few heares, that the leane horſe tayle hadde. The weake and feble man, vnto whom god and good education, had gyuen wyt in ſtrengthes place, pulled by. iiii. and by. v. heares at ones, and ſo within a ſhorte ſpace, he had made of a longe tayle no tayle. Thother a good pomās body, tugged at the hole tayle, and ſweatte faſte, but he pulled of not a heare. Nowe, yf the ignorant ſouldiours, were here thus taught, a handful of witte to be moch more worth than a horſelode of ſtrength, and were contente in battayle, that they ſhulde rule: whiche were the wyſer, they obey, that were the ſtronger, howe moche more ought we to be moued with this exāple, ſpecyally in the gouernynge of a comon welth, in makyng lawes, in ſetlynge mattiers concernynge faythe and relygion, fynally in diſcuſſynge, what thynges maynteyne moſte the fauour of god towarde vs, and by what meanes a realme may beſt be kepte in welthynes: We loue to be diſceyued, we ymagyne a certayne common welthe in worde and in outwarde apparance, whiche if we baptyſe righte, and not nycke name it, we muſt nedes cal a comon wo. We thinke it is very euyll, that ſoo many of vs be poore, we

thynke it were a good worlde, if we were all riche. I pray you for a season let it be as we desyre, let vs imagine, we be al ryche, doth it not streight folow, I as good as he, why goeth he before, I behynde? I as ryche as he, what nedeth me to labour? The mayde as prowde as her dame, who mylketh the cowe? The fermour hauing no more cause to toyle then he that loketh for the rentes, who shal tyll the grounde? His meny ye say. How so? why they more then he, if they be ryche to? What were more to be wayled, then suche welth, that shuld bryng eyther euery man, or the mooste parte of men, to extreme confusion.

¶ The Romaynes after that they had wonne the citte of the Veiens, were at great contention, the commons of Rome, and many also of the gentylle menne, thoughte it very expediente, and hyghely profytable, that halfe Rome shoulde goo dwelle there, alledgyng, that many in Rome lacked, and that this citie was ryche, and of great welthynesse, gorgiously buylded, and also nigh vnto Rome, so that here many of them myght be enryched without any disturbance of them, that had possessions in Rome, ye and myght also, bycause they were so nyghe, be at al assemblees, all parlyamentes, that shulde be kepte in Rome. Marke what folowed: The senatours in especial those that were wyseste, in no case wolde assent to this, noo they thought it moche better to abyde all perylle, then any suche matier shoulde passe theyr handes. In so moche, that whē this was had in deliberation, and hotely

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disputed, the comons were so kendled agaynst the Senatours, that it was harde to kepe them from goynge togyther by the eares. But what is it that sage and graue persones can not perswade, if they be harde of them that vtterly lacke not discretion? A fewe of these ancient fathers and estemed senatours, here strayte bridled the rage of the people, and made them condescende vnto this, that all be it outwardely there semed gaynes in departynge, and losse in the abydynge at Rome, yet they shuld doo better to tary poore, than in goynge awaye to make them selfe ryche.

¶ A comon welthe is then welthy and worthy his name, when euery one is content with his degree, gladde to do that, that he may lawfully doo, gladder to do that, whiche he seeth, shalbe for the quietnes of the realme, all be it his priuate profite bydeth hym doo the contrary. The shypman sayleth for other mens profyt, as moche as for his owne, but yet he sturreth the sterne, and turneth the sayle as hym lusteth, he casteth the shotte anker, when he wyll, and not when they bydde hym, that are in his shyp. The phisition is called to do more good to other, then to hym selfe, and in dede oftymes he saueth the sycke, and taketh the disease hym selfe, but yet he dieteth his pacient, not as the paciente desyreth, but some tyme kepethe hym from meate, when he is hungry, some tyme from drynke, when he is ful thursty, seldom geuynge hym that he calleth for. Gouernours in a common welthe, muste loke to the comons profyte, but they muste rule or

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elles howe can they gouerne? They muſt make lawes, and not ſuche as euery man wolle, neyther eſteme that to be profytable to a fewe, whiche bryngeth damage to the hole. They onely oughte to be offycers, that are knowen to be diſcrete, polytique, wyſe, and of ſuche ſtomake, that yf nede be, they can ſette lyttell the hatrede and malyce of theym, that ſeldome loue ſuche as are in greatteſt auctorytie, and not onely ſette lyttel by them, but alſo contemne their owne profyte, welthe, ye and lyfe to, ſooner than to ſeke prayſe at their tonges, that for the moſte parte, loue they wote not what, and hate they wote not why.

¶ Anthiſtenes ſeing the lyghtnes of the people of Athens came one day amonges theym, and gaue them counſayle, that they ſhulde plowe their lande alſwell with aſſes, as with horſes. They lawghed at hym and ſayd, Aſſes were nothyng fytte for the tillage of the erth. Than let me laugh to, ſayth he, at you, which woll haue them rulers in the cõmon welth, that ſo lytell can ſkyll of thaffaires therof.

¶ Demoſthenes, whan he was banyſhed, by the conſent of the people of Athens, in his departure he turned towardes the cittie, and made this exclamation, O Pallas, howe is it poſſible, that thou ſhouldeſt beare ſuche loue vnto theſe. iii. beaſtes, the nyght owle, the dragon, & the people? He was alſo wont to ſaye, If I had knowen the enuye, the feare, the falſe reportes, the iniuſt accuſatiõs, that they muſt ſuſteyne, whiche gouerne, where credite is gyuen to the fals iugementes of people, if of. ii.

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I muste nedes haue done the one, I wolde sooner haue broken my necke, than haue had to doo in the common welthe of Athens.

¶ One tolde Antisthenes, The people speke moche good of you, why saythe he, what hurt haue I done? as who shuld saye, they seldome prayse, but such as do euyl. I dare boldly affirme, ỹ there was neuer ethnicke more worthy lyke, than Socrates was, the people wolde nedes haue hym deed. Who knoweth not, that knoweth any thynge, howe moche Rome was bounde to Scipio? This worthye Capitayne, dyed out of his countrey, banyshed by them, whom he ofte had saued. I lette passe Phocion, Aristides, and many mo, whom all hystories bringe in, to shewe the lyghtnes and lewde iudgement of communes. Dante, that good Italyane poet sayth full truely of them, It is seldome sene, that the people crie not, *Viua la mia morte, muoia la mia vita*, That is, Let lyue my dethe, lette dye my lyfe, lette that go forthe, that bryngeth my distruction, lette that be banyshed, that is my welthe and safegarde. Geffrey Chauser sayeth also somewhat in theyr prayse, beare it well away and lawde theym as ye fynde cause,

O sterne people vniuste and vntrewe
Ay vndiscrete, and chaungynge as a fane
Delytynge euer in rumours that be newe:
For lyke the mone euer ware ye and wane
Your reason halteth, your iugement is lame
Your dome is false, your constance euyll preuith
A full great foole is he that on you leueth.

What can be more against their profyte, than to obteyne that they moste desire? They be angry, that vertue shulde be rewarded, whan she cometh to men, that had no lordes to their fathers. They wyl that none rule, but noble men borne. Let them haue that they require, whome towcheth this soo sooze, as them selfe, and al their posteritie? What doo they leaue vnto theirs, whan they also take away the possibilitie of better fortune? I may saye trouth, and without blame, thanked be the knowlege of our mooste gratiouse soueraygne lorde the kynge, whiche hath euermore welle declared, that trewe nobilitie is neuer, but where vertue is: and hath euermore, frome the fyrste of his reygne hytherto, bothe by his owne great studye, to atteyne lernynge, wysedome, and other pryncely qualities, and also in gyuyng offices, dignities, and honour, well testified, that he woll all his subiectes to contende, who may obteyne mooste qualities, mooste wytte, moste vertue: and this onely to be the way to promotion, and here nobilitie to consyste. In all other thynges it lytell auayleth, whose sonne a mã be. At runnynge he hathe not the beste game, that leyeth for hym. My father ranne faster than any other dyd: nor he that taketh a fall at wrastlynge, hath that his father was wonte to haue, whan he gaue the fall. They muste nedes here, and almoste in all other thynges, contente them selfe, with that they be able to do, of what parentage so euer they be. There was one, whiche sayd, Princis and noble men, were moche more bounde to theyr horses, than

than to many of their frendes. A horse if the horde ryde not well, layeth hym in the duste, and tellethe hym playnely, he muste lerne to ryde better, if he wyll take noo falle. All thynges telle trouthe but man. The bowe shooteth wyde, yf ye holde it not streyghte. The arrowe saythe, I muste nedes be shote, excepte ye shote me hoome. I muste nedes be goone, yf ye shote me to farre. They canne not flatter, they can not saye, My horde ye shote nygh, excepte ye shote nygh in dede. It is no great hurte to fayle here, it is smalle losse if a horde shoote not well, or at the least the losse hurteth but hym selfe. But gyue the gouerment of commune wealthes, into theyr handes, that can not skyll therof, howe many must nedes go to wracke? The hurte towcheth to many, to be but smally regarded. Agayn, what desyre shall good wyttes haue, to employe them selfe to the knowlege of thynges, and to passe thother, whome slouthe woll not lette growe any higher, whē good & euyl be equally estemed. what shall we nede to endeuour our selfes vnto, whenne what so euer we do, we must be tryed by our byrth, and not by our qualities? That comon welthe can not longe stande, saythe Plato, that vertue is not moste honored in. Any Citie, saythe he, that wyll be longe sauke and in prosperitie, muste distribute these two thynges well, Honour & Shame. They be well distributed, when the chiefe and prime honour is geuen vnto qualites of the mynde, the seconde to the bodye, the thyrde to external thynges, as nobilitie, possessions, and ryches. If ye breake

this order, and put thone in thothers place, that is, if ryches be chiefly estemed, the body next, and vertue laste of all, here can be noo welthe. This cytie can not longe contynue, sayth Plato. Nowe, as there is a difference, in these thynges, so muste we put also, a difference in men that ar endewed with them. They must best be estemed, that haue mooste gyftes of the mynde, that is, they that do excell in wysedome, Justice, temperaunce, and suche other vertues: they nexte, that haue moste gyftes of the body, as helth, strength, quycknes, beautie: They thyrdly, that haue ryches and possessions, the lawes not withstandynge, haupnge euermore theyr full strength, that is no man presumynge, of what qualities so euer he be, to preferre hym selfe to any office or landes, but as the gouernours or lawes, shall call hym to. Justyce muste be in euerye acte. And therfore me thynke, Plato dydde wonderfull wel, to entitle his boke, that he writeth of a comon welth, de iusto, that is, of Justice: Euery man must be sure of his owne, and be cõtent that his neyghbour haue more than he, if that by honest wayes, he can atteyne vnto more. For welthe can not be, where rape is permytted, ne rape lacke, where order is broken. A comune welth is, as I thynke, no thynge elles but a certayne nombre of cities, townes, shires, that all agre, vpon one lawe, and one hed, vnyted and knytte together, by thobseruation of the lawes: these kept, they must nedes florishe, these broken, they muste nedes perisshe. The heed muste rule, if the body woll do well, and not euery

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man make hym selfe ruler, where only one ought to be. Thynges be not doone in this worlde by chaunce, neyther ought to be gouerned by rashenesse. God maketh kynges, specyally where they reigne by succession. God toke awaye prynce Arthure, & wold king Henry the eyght, to be our heed, and gouernour. Woll we be wyser than god: wol we take vpon vs, to know who ought to gouerne vs, better than god? God made hym kynge, and made also this lawe, Obey your kynge. Howe can ye obey hym, that refuse his lawes? that seke his dishonour? that hate theym, whom his grace can not chose but loue? whome also ye wolde loue, yf ye dyd not sooner vppon false reportes, than iuste cawse, hate. Who shall doo the kynge trewe seruyce, who shall desyre, to stande moost in his fauour, if atte the malycious requestes of fonde and lyght people, his highnes shoulde without any other cause put downe them, whom his grace with the rest of his counsayle, thynke moste worthy fauour. we be but men, many of vs ignorant, many without knowlege, let vs thynke, that we knowe moch worse then god, who ought to be our gouernour. Let vs cõtent our selfes, that he rule, whom god made our kynge, whome god preferred in takynge away Prince Arthure, his gracis elder brother. If we woll this to be our prince, heed, & gouernour, than we must also lette his grace gouern vs, by suche officers, as he shall knowe to be beste for vs, and not we to appoynte hym; suche as we shall thynke metest, that seldome eyther see, what

is good for vs, or who most entendeth our profite. ¶ A comune welthe is lyke a body, and soo lyke, that it can be resembled to nothyng so conuenient, as vnto that. Nowe, were it not by your faythe a madde heryng, if the fote shuld say, I wyl weare a cappe, with an ouche, as the heade dothe? If the knees shulde say, we woll carie the eyes, an other whyle; if the shulders shulde clayme eche of them an eare: if the heles wold nowe go before, and the toes behind? This were vndoubted a mad heryng: euery man wold say, the fete, the knees, the shulders, the heles make vnlaufull requestes, and very madde petitions. But if it were so in dede, if the fote had a cap, the knees eies, the shulders eares, what a monsterous body shuld this be? God send them suche a one, that shall at any tyme go about to make as euil a comune welth, as this is a body. It is not mete, euery man to do, that he thynketh best. The Locrians had a very good custome amonges them, no man might there, come to speke agaynste a law, that was constituted by suche, as had auctorite to make it, except he came to the disputation therof, with a corde about his necke. If he proued the lawe to be naughte, then he caste of the corde, and was highly commended: but yf he dyd attempte it, and after fayled of his pourpose, he was forthwith truste vppe. They thought hym worthy to dye, that dyd but speake ageynst a lawe: albeit he also thoughte therby, to doo good vnto his countrey, in speakynge agaynste that, that he iudged moche hurtefull to the comune welth.

Plato

Plato gyueth lesse lybertie to his cytezens, he wyll no man shall dispute any lawe, in the presence of youthe, or comon people, that hath lytel iudgement in suche thynges. It is noo parte of the peoples play, to discusse actes made in the parliamēt. Euery man dothe well in his office, euery thynge standeth well in his place. Socrates syndeth this to be the only welth of all realmes, that euery man setle hym selfe to his owne affayres and busines, and intermedle with no other mannes office. The handes are content the fete go, the tethe pleased, that the tongue tell the hole tale: the eare doth not desire to see, nor the eie to here: a payre of shoes of viii.d. dothe better seruice to the fete, than a cappe of.v.s. though ye put theron a fether of forty pēce: a payre of gloues of lamme skynne, dothe mothe better fytte the handes, than a payre of breches of right satyn: a frese cote dothe better on his backe, that hath to do at the carte, or at the plowe, than a gowne of veluet, furred with sables. To my purpose, Lordes must be lordes, comunes must be comunes, euery man acceptynge his degree, euery man contente to haue that, that he laufully maye come by. We must, if we pourpose euer to come to welthe, whiche we ofte lese in wronge sekynge for it, all agree, that the lawes haue their place. It is but an easy remedy, that maketh the sore greater. He knoweth not the way to quenche fyre, that powreth oyle into it. Chese is no medicine to driue awaye ratte: neyther sedytion a meane to make men welthy. What ende of myserie shall there be,

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where no man wereth ryche, but a nother is made a begger? where no man is mery, but. ii. or. iii. be ſadde for it? what ende of robbynge and ſpoylynge ſhall there be, if the poore maye euermore rob the riche? If the ſtronger may pulle from the weaker? Muſt not you abyde the ſame lawe, that you make your ſelfe? muſt not you, whan you haue ſpoyled them that are ryche, and ſo made your ſelfes welthy, ſuffre that they now being poore, ſpoyle you riche? And than muſt not ye be poore ageyne? O lyghtnes of comunes, who can ſay ſo moche ageynſt the, but he may ſeme to haue ſayd nothing? I am aſhamed to reherce the blynde folye, that the comunes of Englande haue ſo ofte runne into? There can come no traytour, no rebell, of ſo baſe condicion, of ſo lyttell witte, but if he be bolde inoughe to take vppon hym, to be their capitayne, they are foolyſhe ynoughe to folowe hym. Howe ofte, and whom I praye you, and for what cauſes haue they made their capitaynes? whom can they refuſe, whan ſmythes, coblers, tylers, carters, and ſuch other gay grekes, ſeme worthy to be theyr gouernours? who wyl not be aſhamed to ſee our cronycles in ſtraungers handes, they to ſe ſuche outragious madnes reigne in vs, we to rede ſuch temperancy, ciuilitie, and obedience to be amonges them? I wyll not compare vs to the beſt gouerned countreys, that be, I wyll goo to the Barberouſt nations that be, and ſee howe our ſhame encreaſeth theyr honeſtie, and good orders, layde before our faces.

¶Is there any nation, that hath ben more enfamed of barbarous conditions than the Scythes? any of lesse ciuilitie than these? yet they haue ben euer so true to their princis, that there be fewe nations, that haue obteyned higher fame by batayle, than they haue. Their concorde and vnytie, their faythfulnes toward their kynges, made them, that they were neuer ouercome. They draue Darius, that redoubted kyng of the Persians, to shamefull flyght: They kylled Cyrus and all his hoste. Alexander magnus loste bothe a good capitayne at their handes, and all the armye, that he sente ageynste them. They harde of the Romaynes valyantnes, but the Romaynes neuer durst sette vpon them. what reuerence bare they to their kyng? whan suche as were any thyng familiar with him, were wont at his deathe to cutte of their eares, to mangle their noses and faces, and many of theym to dye with hym. They thought trewe obeysaunce coulde not be shewed, neither the loyal hartis knowen, but at deth. Amonges these, the greatest othe that they coude swere by, was by the kynges seate, he that forswore hym selfe by this, was streyghte whypped to deathe.

¶who wylle not meruayle, to see the Aethyops, men that neuer harde of goddis lawe, doo as they were wonte to do? there was no hangeman, none to cut of theyr hedes, that deserued deth. Se theyr obedience, laye it with ours, if god were no god, if honesty had neuer ben harde of, myght not shame bynge men from rebellion? Se theyr obedience.

The kynge, when he harde of any that was wor-thy dethe, was wont to sende one of his seruantes with a token, whiche dyd no more, but telle hym, the kynges pleasure is, you dye. This manne, of what so euer estate he was, without any furder de-lay, went into some secrete corner, and there found one waye or other to doo the kynges commaunde-ment. They had their prynce in suche honour, that if he by any myschortune loste an eye, or by some fal broke a legge, al his householde seruantis by their owne accord didde depriue them selfes of that part of theyr bodye, in whiche fortune hadde offended theyr kynge: thynkynge it moche vnsemely, that they shulde not halte, whan their kynge halted, moche vnmete, that they shuld not be content with one eye, whan theyr kynge hadde but one. They thought it a gret shame, if they bare hym not com-pany whan he dyed. They toke it for a hyghe ho-nour, to haue so glorious an ende, as to departe in the felowshyp of a kynge.

¶ The Persians thought hym worthy great pu-nyshement, that dyd but nease, spyt, wype his nose, or coughe in a kynges presence: and are nat they wery of theyr lyues, that amonges christen menne ryse agaynste theyr prynce? Shal these capitaynes be suffred to lyue, that at any tyme shall stirre the people to suche outragious ryotte? Is it possy-ble that the people pull them not a pecys, and soo shewe both to god and theyr prynce, that they now knowe the greatnes of suche an errour, and that they muste nedes hate hym, that brought them in-

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to it? God hath euermoze well teſtified, that he fa-
uoꝛeth no traytours, no rebelles. Theyꝛ ende (ex-
cepte all hiſtoꝛies fayle) can be no better then their
intentes. May not the rayne, that god ſent to part
vs, and kepe vs from bloodſhedynge, well ſhewe,
that goddis pleaſure is, we fyght not amonge our
ſelues, that god loueth our pꝛince, alloweth his la-
wes, and wyll that we be ſubiecte to theym bothe?
God wylle not the bondes of nature to be bꝛoken,
the charitie and loue that ſhoulde be betwene all
men, moche rather betwene theym that are of one
countrey, one ſhire, one citie, one howſe, one pare-
tage. Nature is forgotten, god is not harde, al hu-
manitie is troden vnder the foote, where as is ci-
uile diſſention. Nature teacheth bꝛute beaſtis, to
loue them that gaue them life, that noriſhed them.
God ſaythe, Honour thy father and mother, Loue
thy neyghbour as thy ſelfe. Thus he ſayth, but he
is nothynge harde, where as ſedition is. Foꝛ what
ſacryfice can the father offre to god and his coun-
trey, moꝛe acceptable, than to kylle with his owne
hãdes his ſonne, now no lenger his ſonne, being a
traytour? what act can be moꝛe woꝛthy pꝛayſe, thã
the ſon to ſlee his owne father in ſuche caſe? He is
none of myne ſaythe Chꝛiſte, noꝛ woꝛthy to be my
ſeruaunt, that can not, if iuſte cawſe require hym
ſo to do, forſake his father & mother to do me ſer-
uyce. He is none of myne ſaythe Englande, that
canne not hate his father and mother, that canne
not kylle them bothe, ſooner than ones conſente to
my deſtruction.

¶ Damatria a woman of Lacedemon, after she harde say, that her son had not so fought ageynst the ennemies of his countrey, as it besemed one borne in Lacedemon, she streyghte vppon his retourne from the warres, slewe hym with her owne handis, right glad, that she had shewed her self sorye, to haue ben the mother of suche a son. What wolde she haue done? what deathe wolde she haue thought to shamful for him, if he had risen ageinst his prynce? if he had shewed hym selfe open ennemye to his countrey? if he hadde intended to pulle downe the lawes of the Lacedemoniens?

¶ There be fewe or none that haue red any hystoryes, but they knowe, what Brutus iudged his sonnes worthy to suffre, which by letters intended to call in Tarquinius againe. Theyr letters went not furthe, they weere intercepted, yet the father gaue sentence agaynste his sonnes, and commanded them to be tyed at a stake, there to be whypte, and after to lose theyr heedes.

¶ It is more notable that Titus Manlius dyd, and moch more pertaynynge vnto vs, which so oft haue broken our loyall obeysaunce towardes our pryncе. This Titus bad, ỹ none of his souldiours shuld fyght, but whan he cõmanded them. Gemutius Metius, one of his ennemyes, pryckеth out from his company, & chalengeth Manlius sonne. The commaundement of his father was, that he shulde not fyght: but he beinge the consuls sonne, a romayne, thought his honour loste, if he shulde not fyght. Youth, courage, nobilite, the renoume

of

of his father, the fame of his countrey, wolde not lette hym ſuffre his enneimye to make this vaunt, that he hadde chalenged a conſuls ſonne of Rome, and that he durſte not fyghte with hym. Wherfore Manlius cometh forth, they rūne togyther: within ſhorte ſpace Genutius Metius had thende, that crakers are wont to come to. Manlius ſlewe him, and was hyghely commended of all his fathers ſowldiours for it. But the Conſule, whanne he ſawe, that his ſonne hadde broke his commaunment, and hadde fought, where he badde, he ſhuld nat ſo do, Sonne ſayth he, ſeing that aſmoche as in the lyeth, thou haſte broke thorder that is to be kept in warre, by the whiche Rome hytherto, hath euermore ben aduaunced to great honour, and for as moch as thou haſt brought me into this choiſe, that I muſt eyther forgette the common welthe, or els depriue my ſelfe of that I toke priuately moſte pleaſure in, ſorye I am to doo it, but yet lette vs, that haue deſerued punyſhement, be punyſhed. I wyll by this exaumple, that the comune welthe take no hurte. I wyll thy death teche all other our citizens, that the Conſules of Rome wyll be obeyed. Go hangeman go, tye hym to a ſtake, whyppe hym, heed hym, handle hym, as it becometh them to be, whiche by euyl example hurte the diſcipline & obeyſance of ſouldiours. ¶ What wold Manlius haue done, if a ſoudiour had taken vpon him, to haue corrected any decree of the ſenate? any plebiſcite? any lawe? what if he had ryſen agaynſt the ſenate? Ye may wel iudge, that he ꝑ kylled his ſon

for ſuch a cryme, wherin alſo many excuſes might haue be founde, wolde not a made to moche of a ſouldiour, that ſhulde haue bene a traytour, that ſhulde for ſmall cauſe haue rebelled. what can we lay for our defence? we euermore crie we be poore. I admytte it be ſo, is ſedytion lawfully defended, where men lay pouertie for their excuſe? ſhal they, that be not ryche, by and by ſay, they wyll no more be ruled by their prince, by his coũſaylours, by his lawes? God ſende vs more grace, for leſſe wytte we can not haue. There is a way to ryches moche better, than in ſekynge goodes to leſe al goodnes. Moche nygher, than in ſekynge riches, to defye al regarde of honeſtie. There be handy craftes, there be honeſt occupations, whereby pouertie maye be dryuen away.

¶ It was a wonderfull good lawe that Amazis kynge of Aegypte made, by the whiche euery man was cõmaunded yerely, to put his name in the comen boke, and at the yeres ende to ſhewe the gouernour of the place, where his abiding was, by what meanes he gote his lyuinge. Thus bothe ydlenes was baniſhed, and none or fewe put to iniury, but the euyll doer was knowen and punyſhed. Euery man had a crafte, they mooſte eſteemed, that were found moſte profitable to the comune welthe. The Athenies had the ſame law, they thought it a gret ſhame, menne to be of leſſe polycye, then beeſe are, whiche ſuffre none to tary amonges them, in their hyues, but ſuche as bryng ynough with them for their comens. They wyll no dryane bees amonges

theym

thē. Socrates alluding hither, sayth, there be two sortes of vnprofytable bees in a comune welthe, thone without stynges, thother with stinges. Unto the fyrste sorte he lykeneth poore olde men, that can not labour, by reason of theyr age, feblenes, or some other iust impediment. Unto thother he lykeneth these that be yonge and lustye, and neyther haue, nor yet wyll lerne any honest occupation, to get theyr lyuynge in trouthe, but contynewynge in ydlenes, fall to stealynge, robbynge, murther, and many other mischiefes.

¶ Aesculapius that famous physition, wolde bestowe no medicines on them, that he thoughte vncurable, sayenge it to be moche ageyne a common welthe, to kepe them alyue, that can doo nothyng, but be sycke and combre the hole, and consume the vyttaile of theym that labour. Socrates moche commendeth hym for it. This I do not brynge in, bycause I wolde any man shuld lacke cherishing, when he is sycke, thoughe there be no hope of his recouerie: but that I wolde well shewe, howe all good ordred comune welthes, in tyme past abhorred these belyes, that haue no handes: these flyes, that fede vpon other mens labours: these that beinge ydle, without any occupation, without landes, fees, wages, doo nothynge but complayne of fortune, complayne of theym that be gouernours of the realme: And thus eyther sow sedition amōges the people, or els be the feldes them selfe apt to brynge forth such fruites, These be they, that with their venomous tongue, stynge and poysone the

fame

fame of them that are ſet in office, to ſee that they do leſſe myſchiefe, then they wolde doo. They can not without feare of their lyues, do as they moſte deſire, excepte ſuche gouernours be putte downe. There was neuer ruler ſoo good, but the better he was, the more they that be ſette on riotte, robbery, murder, and rebellion, hate hym. Many a ſhamefull ſeditions haue ben in Englande, they haue all ben ſooner punyſhed: this remedy helpeth but for a ſeaſon.

¶ Lucius Cinna, a noble man of Rome, conſpired, and vtterly entended the deathe of Auguſtus thẽperour. Ceſar had ſure knowlege, bothe where, when, and after what facion he purpoſed to bryng his treſon to paſſe. His intent was open, yet Ceſar long douted, what was beſt to be done. He thought to banyſſhe hym, he thoughte to doo nowe this, now that. As he thus toke delyberation, Liuia his wyfe came in, and after ſhe had perceiued the mattier, ſayd thus vnto him: Sir, do as phiſitions do, whiche whan they ſee, that their accuſtomed medicines wyll not ſerue, they proue the contraryes. By punyſhment ye haue hitherto done lytel or nothynge, forgeue a nother whyle, and ſee what clemency may do. Cinna canne not nowe hurte your lyfe, he may ſet forth moche your honour. Themperour thynkynge her counſayle not the worſt, by and by ſente for Cinna to come ſpeake with hym. As ſoone as Cinna was come, Themperour cauſed a chayre to be ſet for hym. Than thus he began to reaſon the mattier with Cinna. This one thing

ſaythe themperour, I muſte require of you, that you do not interrupte my communication, ye ſhall haue tyme, when I haue ſayde my mynde, to ſaye what ye wyll. Here he began to reherce his benefittes towarde Cinna. Firſt that he had perdoned hym his lyfe, whan that he founde hym in his enemies tentis, and that he dyd reſtore him to his hole patrimony, that he had alſo gyuen hym great authoritie, many offices. If ye graũt all this, ſayth Ceſar, to be true, nowe I praye you tell me, what cauſe I haue gyuen you, to deſire my dethe? ye to go about your ſelfe to kylle me? Cinna here began to chaunge colour, to be troubled in coũtenaunce, he wolde haue layde ſomwhat for his defence. Auguſtus made an ende of his expoſtulation, & ſayde thus, Cinna, I gyue the ones ageyne thy lyfe: before I gaue the it, beinge myn ennemie, I giue it nowe to the, beinge a traytour, and a patricide. From this day forthwarde, lette frendeſhyp begin betwene vs, lette vs two contende, whyther thou mayſte ſhewe me more pleaſure, for perdonynge the thy lyfe, or I more gladde, that I ſaued the. And thus by and by Ceſar began with hym, and made hym conſul. Cinna was from that daye forwarde, as true a frende vnto Ceſar, as one man myght be vnto an other, in ſo moche that he made Cinna his heyre.

¶ The kinge our moſte gracyous ſoueraine lorde myghte commemorate his benefyttes towarde all his ſubiectes. I wolde doo it for hym, but that I knowe I am farre vnmete, to take vppon me the

handelynge of soo weighty a mattier. His grace woll, I doubt not, folowe the clemency of Augustus. He seeth, his noble progenytours haue ofte punished rebelles, and done no more, but cut awey the branches of sedicion, for their tyme. His highnes intendeth to pull aweye the roote. He seeth, it is not possible to cure this sore, which in dede Plato calleth the greattest syckenes, that can come to a comune welthe, excepte he serche out, bothe where it ariseth, and what thing moste nourisheth it, and then do as phisicions are wont, whiche oft tymes laye not their medicines to the parte, that is diseased, but to that rather, from whens the disease first came, and is like to come stylle, oneles se it be there stopped. As for exaumple, when the eies be sore, first they seke, whether the disease grow in the eies, or is sent from some other place nighe the eies, as from the heed, or els some other place further of, as the stomake. If it be not in the eies principally, but cometh either from the heed, or from the stomacke, they begynne not at the eies, but firste pourge the stomacke, and so the roote cutte awaye, the disease nowe no more maynteyned, can in no wyse longe tary behynde. It is very true, that Zamolsis, king of Thrace was wonte to saye. Loke, sayth he, as the eies can not be clensed, excepte ye fyrste clense the heed, neyther the heed, without ye pourge the hole body, euen so, neither the bodye, without the mynde be firste netted. This kynge sawe it lytell auayled, to rydde the body of noughty humours, oneles also a man so brydell his appetyte, that af-

ter

terwarde he can forbeare suche thinges, as dydde hurte hym before, and wyll do ageyne, excepte he moderate his affectiõs. The bote man I thinke, lacketh moche wyt, and loseth moche labour, that standeth all daye with a dish ladinge out water, that nedes muste come in agayne, oneles the bote be amended. The faut is in the breache of the bote, and not in the water. Surely, if it were any thing lyke to be brought to passe, it shulde be moche better to fynde a waye, that none might haue wylle to rebell, then to trusse vp rebellious people. Wolde god some high wytte, some man borne to do suche good for his countrey, coulde aswel bryng this to passe, as I thinke it myght nowe very lyghtly be done. For if euer the cause of rebellion may vtterly be taken awaye, we haue a prynce, god wyll we maye haue his grace longe, we haue a prynce, that sayth, the tyme is now. All men ought to endeuour them selfe, here to occupie theyr wyttes, that suche a thynge myght take effecte. I for my parte, wylle do what I can, which I know is very lyttell, how be it if I do it not so well as my desyre is, I truste good intent shall soo make myne excuse, that loue of my countrey shall not moche hurte me.

¶ Some say pouertie is the cause, that men come to be thenes, murderers, rebelles. But I thynke, nothynge so. For I knowe dyuers realmes, where pouertie raygneth moche more than in Englande, yet rebels there be none. The rote is lower, dygge deper, ye maye perchaunce fynde it. Education, euyll education, is a greatte cause of these and all

other myſchefes, that growe in a comune welthe. For where ſo many lacke honeſt occupatiõs, wherby al men, that can not otherwiſe lyue by their landes, ought to mayntcyne them ſelues, howe cannc we lacke any kynd of miſchief? No man is borne a craftis mã, youth muſt be beter brought vp, or euer the olde lyue welthely. The lacke, the lacke of honeſt craftes, and the habundauncie of ydlenes, all be it they be not the hole cauſe of ſedicyon, yet as they brede theues, murderers, and beggers, ſo not a lytle they prouoke men, or thynges lyke men to rebellion. There is a parte in man, whiche is named the mynde, that is of this nature, yf it be galyarde and luſty, either to do moche good, or cõtrary to do moche hurt. If this lacke good inſtitutiõ, if this be not handeled and ordered as it ſhulde be, men maye lacke ſedition, but they can not lacke a thynge within them to ſtyre them to ſedition. This muſt be ſo taught, that there be no rebellion within our ſelfes, we muſte conquere our luſtes, and compell the appetites, to obeye all ſuche ſtatutes, as reaſon and honeſtie ſhall thynke worthye to be enacted. Euery man, ſome wyll ſay, can not clyme to ſuche perfection, Euery man can not be kept at ſkole. I graunt, But yet I thynke, al ỹ lordes ſonnes, and alſo the better parte of gentlemen, myght be as well brought vp, as it is neceſſary they be, if they had ſuche teachers, as oughte to inſtructe the nobles of a realme. Theſe wel brought vp, I wold nothynge doubte, but eyther we ſhulde be welthier than we be, or els moche better content with that,

that

that god shoulde sende vs, all be it we had moche lesse then nowe we haue. I longe haue supposed, that as the bryngyng vp of ꝑ nobles, is the saulfegarde of a comune welthe, so theyr euill education is the ruyne therof. For as noble men be, so theyr seruantes are. The mayster gyuen to ryot, the seruant must nedes thynke, that there is no thryuyng for hym, excepte he shewe hym selfe a ruffler. So that though the seruaunt be good of hym selfe, yet to wynne the fauour of his mayster, he muste cõterfaite their condicions, that his maister most lyketh. Thus in bryngе theym a monethe or two, he maketh theym his owne. He nowe dissembleth no lenger, he is as they be, whom he hath longe folowed. I must nedes saye more, if the nobles be euyl taught in poyntes concernyng religion, as if they be poppyshe, to put one exaumple for many, Howe can theyr seruauntes chose, but be so to? Howe can theyr tenantes, whiche muste haue theyr lordes fauour, be of a nother religion, then theyr lorde is? Howe can they agre with their neighbours, if they bothe be not of one faythe and one beleue? The kynges grace shall neuer haue true subiectes, that do not beleue as his grace doth. For howe can they loue hym, as they shulde do, whiche beynge in errours them selfe, in darkenes and ignorancy, suppose his grace to be in a wronge faythe, and soo to seduce them, whiche entendeth nothynge so ernestly, as the sauyng of their sowles? Howe can these obey his highnes, as it behoueth them to do, whan they thynke in obeyenge his commaundementes,

they disobey goddis. This forayne heed, that is in Rome, ỹ body being in England, hath brought the sely braynes of many a poore manne, into depe errours. Alas what greatter ignorauncye can there be, then to take hym for hede, that neuer was with the body? Hym for the heed, that hitherto hath done nothynge, but consumed the membres? The kyng is our heed, though poppishe say nay, yet lette vs beleue the prophete Samuel, Lo saythe he vnto kynge Saul, God hathe anoynted the, and made the prince of all his inheritance. I pray you, think you that prestes, monkes, friers, and bishops, be not a parte of goddis inheritaunce? Hath god no tytle, no right vnto them? If god haue, the kynge also, whom god hath made his holle heyre, muste nedes haue. He is theyr prynce, and yet not heade, some say. Samuell is a prophete, he sayth yes, he
1.Reg.10. saythe vnto Saule, Nonne cum paruulus esses in oculis tuis, caput in tribubus factus es? He that sayth in the Tribes, I pray you doth he not meane in all the Tribes? He that is mayre of London, is
1.Reg.15. he not mayre of all London? Yet there is, Pasce oues, sayde to Peter, and not to the kynge. Soo they saye, that alledgeth, but that that maketh for them. But you se, that god sayd to kynge Dauid,
2.Reg.5. Tu pasces populum meum, Thou shalt fede my people, and thou shalt be theyr guyde. I shal speke of this matyer perchaunce a nother tyme, at more leysure, And in place more conueniente. Nowe I wyll not go from my purpose. We muste agree in religion

in religion, we must serue but one mayster, one body wyll haue but one heed. It is not possible men to agree longe, that dissent in relygion. No more than it is possyble, chrysten men to agree with turkes. Howe be it, who wyll not thynke it moch better, to dissent, then that we all agree, vpon pernytious errours? Whiche haue noo defence but this onely, that they haue reygned long, and that men hath long ben subiecteto them? The nobles muste be of one beleue, of one fayth, of one religion, they must all agre vpon one heed. The gentylmen wyll folowe, the comunes can not tary longe behynde. And where I sayde before, youthe muste be welle brought vp, specially in opinions of religion, here I say, the olde muste begynne. It is harde for the sonne to be agaynst his father, in matters of fauth. No, we se this thynge onely to be a defence for all argumentes: I beleue as my father did before me. Undoubtedly, if the child lerne one thyng at scole, or of the preacher, and here his father at home, not onely saye, but see hym also doo the contrary, wordes are forgotten, dayly exaumple worketh faste, specially when it is euylle. Clitipho saythe, as all ponge menne wylle saye, My father byddeth me lerne of other honest mē, what becometh me to do, he commaundeth me to folowe them, but when he hath well dronke, what shamfull actes dothe he tel of hym selfe: when he sayth, he hath doone thus, Can I thynke vppon that he byddeth me do: and not sooner do as he hath done: No no he telleth a tale, to one that hath no eares, that commaundeth

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the ponge to do well, when they ſee the aged do euyll. I haue ofte meruailed, to ſee the diligencye, that the Jewes vſe in bringynge vp their youthe, and bene moche aſſhamed to ſee howe neglygente chriſten men are in ſoo godly a thynge. There is neyther man, woman, nor chyld of any lauful age, but he for the mooſte parte knowethe the lawes of Moyſes: and with vs he is almoſt a good curate, that knoweth .vi. or .vii. of the .x. commandementes: amonges the Jewes, there is not one, but he can by ſome honeſte occupation, gette his lyuyng. There be fewe idell, none at al, but ſuch as be riche ynough, and may lyue without labour. There is not one begger amonges thē. All the cities of Jtaly, many places in Cecilia, many bourges in Germany, haue a great nombre of Jewes in them. I haue ben longe amonges them, that are in Jtaly, I neuer harde of a Jewe, that was a theſe, neuer that was a murderer. No I neuer hard of a fraye betwene them. I am aſhamed to ſaye as I nedes muſte ſaye, They maye well thynke their religion better than ours, if religiō be tried by mens lyues. Nowe if Moyſes lawe lerned in youthe, and but carnally vnderſtande, can ſo ſteye them, that fewe or none fall into other vice, than vſury, whiche alſo they do thynke permytted by Moyſes lawe, ſo ỹ they vſe it not one iewe to an other, as in dede they do not, but a Jewe to a ſtraunger. Might not we lerne ſo moche of Chriſtis lawe, as were able to kepe vs from rebellion? Maye not poore mennes chyldren come to the ſermons? maye they not here

preа-

chers? can they here goddis lawes, ye though they be but easily preached, and not abhorre sedycyon and rebellion? Who harde euer, that the Turkes rose against their prince? it is, it is vndoubted, one sorte of relygion, though also it be not ryght, that kepeth men in concorde and vnytie. Turkes goo not agayne turkes, nor Jewes agaynste Jewes, because they bothe agree in theyr faythe. Chrysten men do so varye, Englande is so deuyded, that I wonder rather that sedicion sprange vp no sooner, than that nowe men begyn to rebell. Englande is lyttell bounde vnto them, that at the fyrst deuyded it so madly. This North and south, east and west, is a good partition of the hole worlde, it were wel in Englande, if we were all called Englyshemen, of this countrey, or that, as of Yorke, of London, and suche other: and not these northern men, these southerne, these western. The very name maketh fooles out with theym, that they neuer sawe. The northorn can not but beare haulfe a grudge to the southern, ye for no nother cause, then that they be thus called. In Italie, Fraunce, Spayne, Germany, there is both north and southe, est and west, yet they iudge nothynge by these, but the wynde. In Oxford I know the name of the northorn and southorne proctour, hath ben the cause, that many men haue ben slayne. They that shulde rule thother, are out or euer they entre into their office. We can not get out of Paules churche, but we muste passe by the northorn dore, or by the southern. Chrysten men are to sore diuided. The fryers of sayut

Fraunces ſkace loue the dompnycans, the Jacobites loue not the Bzigetines, oz if they doo loue, they wolde loue moche better, if they were al of one ſozt. I do knowe, good men, of what ozder ſo euer they be, they wyll do well. But the euyll be mo in nombze, they bere the ſwynge: thother be ſo fewe that ſkace they be ſene in the chapiter howſe. It is only Chziſtis religion, that can make Chziſtē men one of vs loue an other, as we ſhulde do. The pzeceptes of philoſophie, and good education, coude make many of the Grecians, mo of the Romans, not only to fozſake riches, to banyſhe pleaſures, & to put them ſelfes in a thouſande perilles: but alſo to dye foz their coūtrey. And can not the knowlege of the wozde of god, the ſwete adhoztations, the hyghe and aſſured pzomyſes that god maketh vnto vs, kepe chziſten men from contempning the iudgemente and lawes of god, frome vndoinge theyz coūtrey, from fyghtyng againſt theyz pzince? If we were any thing wel inſtructed in the ioyes, that are pzepared foz them, that obey god and their pzynce, in the ioyes that neyther mans eloquence can expzeſſe, neyther harte fele, noz thought compaſſe: who wyll thinke, that ſoo many of theym coude ſo frankely offre vp theyz liues, and that we ſhall not abhozre, ſuche as eyther wyll dye theym ſelfe, oz bzinge their countreye to ruine?

Who can pzayſe Themiſtocles ſoo well, but he maye ſeme to haue lefte out a greatte parte of his pzayſe? Who dyd moze foz his countreye then he? Who coude be wozſe rewarded then he was? that

was

was not only banyshed his countrey, but also dri-
uen to seke succour at Xerxes hande, whom he had
not longe before dis honored in batayle? who had
a greatter cause to fall out with his countrey than
he? who more commoditie to haue reuenged suche
ingratitude? But se what good education can do:
Se what is to be loked for of them, in whose bre-
stis vertue and desyre of honeste fame lodgeth.
Xerxes interteyned hym highely, and shewed him
all the fauour, that a myghtie prynce could shewe
vnto one, whom he best loued. He gaue hym great
possessions, in soo moche that Themistocles was
wonte to saye, I had ben vndone, except the Athe-
nias had vndone me. Yet al this being thus, when
Xerxes wold haue sent hym agaynst his countrey,
with an hoste of men, he forgot all theyr vnkynde-
nes, he forgot they had exyled him, and put him in
teoperdy of his lyfe, and thought it moche better
to slee hym selfe, than to be a capitayne agaynste
his countrey. And thus at the laste beinge werted
with ofte callynge on of the kynge, and seynge no
remedy, but eyther to kyll hym selfe, or to fyght a-
gainst his countrey: he chose of two the lesse hurt,
and with a drafte of Bulles bloudde finysshed his
life. I wyll not speake of Thrasibulus, Codrus,
Ancurus, Decii, and manye other, whiche all
thought the welthe of theyr countrey, to be prefer-
red to their lyues. I can not thinke, but if Christis
lawes were well preached, (they be well preached,
whan the preacher sayth as the gospel is, and doth
as the gospell saith) I can not thinke, but if Chri-

ſtis promyſes were ſurely prynted in our hartes, that we ſhulde be, and that a great ſorte, to teſtifie the worde of god, to be of moche more puiſſaunce, then vaine fame. Goddis worde is potente, and to ſaye as I thynke, almoſt omnipotent, if it be well handeled, and of ſuche as it ſhulde be. It is moch that good men maye do. In Florence, the people were ſet parte agaynſte parte, as we were lately here in Englande. The ſyde that hadde the better hande, came to ſet a fyre the palaice of their aduerſaries Capitayne, called Pagolantonio Soderini. As chaunce was, this capitaynes brother, the byſhop of Volterra, was than in his howſe, whiche as ſoone as he harde theyr noyſe, and perceyued where about they wente, caſt on his white rochet, and ſo came downe amonges them, he ſpake but few wordes, but by and by al that were in that rout, caſte awaye theyr fyer brondes. There was none ſo lewde, that coulde in ſo honeſte a prelates preſence do any hurte. This Machiauellus wryteth, as a thynge wonderfull, howe be it, if people were as obedient as they ought to be, and byſhops in ſuche reuerence as they haue ben in tymes paſt, for their good lyfe and lernynge, this wolde be no wonder. who was leſſe beloued in the northe, than my lorde Cardynall, god haue his ſowle, before he was amonges them? Who better be loued, after he had ben there a whyle? we hate oft tymes, whom we haue good cauſe to loue. It is a wonder, to ſee howe they were turned, howe of vtter ennemyes, they became his dere frendes. He gaue byſhops a

right

right good ensample, howe they myght wyn mens hartis. There was fewe holy dayes, but he wolde ride. v. or. vi. myle from his howse, nowe to this paryshe churche, nowe to that, and there cause one or other of his doctours, to make a sermone vnto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayd masse before al the paryshe. He sawe why churches were made. He began to restore them to their ryght and propre vse. If our byshops had done so, we shuld haue sene that preachyng of the gospell, is not the cause of sedition, but rather lacke of preachyng of it. He broughte his dinner with hym, and bad dyuers of the parish to it. He enquired whether there was any debate or grudge betwene any of theym, yf there were, after dinner he sente for the parties to the church, and made them at one. Men say wel that do wel. Goddis lawes shal neuer be so set by, as they ought, before they be well knowen. Howe shall poore men knowe them, excepte they be syncerely preached? We must fyrst lerne to kepe goddis lawes, or euer we ernestly passe of the kynges statutes. All be it he that kepeth thone, wylle also kepe thother. He that can fynde a better way, to auoyde sedition, than fyrste to bynge in the worde of god, which our most lerned kyng, and true lieutenant of god in this realme of England, hath holly intended this many yeres, Secondarily the mynd welle pourged, that is restored into the good and pure nature, that fyrst god made it in, to purge as Zamolsis thought best the body. He that can fynd a better way, shall do ryght wel to shew it, If fynde

none. Wen after that the mynde is wel instructed, must se, that the body haue also a way to mainteyn it self. Euery mā must haue an honest occupation, wherby in trouth he may get his lyuyng, without doinge iniury to his neyghbour. Idelnes ydelnes must be banysshed. It can not be chosen, but men wylle steale, thoughe they be hanged, excepte they may lyue without stelyng. How it may be brought to passe, that no man haue cause to stele, me thinke I haue eyther shewed it, or elles gyuen occasion to some other to shewe it.

¶ Now that we content our selfes with that, whiche god shal send vs, or with that, we by our owne industry shall laufully gette, me thynke a greatte parte lyeth in the prelates of the Churche. They muste begynne, thother can not leade this daunce. If religious men begyn, laye people wyll folowe, as soone as they shall haue lerned wel the fotynge of it. Religion toke a great falle, honestie was sore wounded, that daye that richesse entred into theyr hartes, handes I wolde say, whom Christ left for to declare dothe in worde and lyfe, what rewarde they were sure of, that here for his sake wolde refuse rychesse. It is noo meruayle, if a tapster or a wyne drawer, recken a peny or two more than his duetie, whan they see religious menne soo imbrace money. Lette the poore laye people here them say, and lye not, God is our portion, God is our lādes, Our conuersation is in heuen, They wyll vndoutedly take pouertie for noo suche thynge, that they shulde sooner consent to the disturbaunce of theyr coun-

countreye, then to be poore. I haue longe sought, and can in maner fynde no cause of our pouertie, but the fertilite and welthynes of our countrey. Other men, that are borne in bare countreys, and can not lyue, onles they moche trauayle the world, auoyde myserie by their great labour and toyle. In Englande the grounde almoste nourisheth vs alone. It is an incredible thynge, to see howe sore men of other nations labour, howe moch we play, howe lytle they consume on their belyes, howe moche we deuoure, howe poore they be, and how welthy we are, welthy I saye in comparison of them. God hath gyuen vs to good a countrey, we maye here to many of vs lyue ydle. In many places of Germany, people are fayne to set theyr trees, that they vse for theyr fewel. They sowe corne on mountaynes, where neyther horse nor plowe can come, They plowe with mattockes, and harrowe with spades. Howe moche grounde is lost in England? Howe moche corne myght we carie into other cõtreyes, if we wolde vse the commodities of our realme? Howe manye hethes be there, that wolde beare other frutis, than shrubbes, brakes, bromes, and ferne, if they were welle handeled? howe many cities are decayed, howe many townes, that are nowe hamlettis, quyte downe, that wolde stande, if the thirde parte of Englande dyd not lyue idelly? Townes wolde vp ageyne, yf craftes were set vp. There is fewe nations, but many be ydell, yet I thinke there is not two of the greattest nations in christendome, that hath halfe so many, that liue with-

without craftes, as lytle England hath. In Frãce ye shal see many men drawe cartis about the cittie, laden with fagottes, and suche other small wode. In Italy, there is no man so ryche, but he trauaileth in marchandise. Dukes that are there in kynges places, occuppe marchãdyse. And yet are fain to kepe small howses. I wyll not compare our comynaltie with theirs. I wyl not handel this place as I mighte. This I am sure, we that haue bene there, haue sayde ones a weke, God saue the welthy comynaltie of England. I wyl not cõpare our kepyng of houses with theirs, where frogges be a dayntie dysshe, snayles, a morsell for a lady, where mushrumpes stande for the seconde course. Ye wolde thynke it a madde syght, to see a quarter of a goose runne rounde for burnynge, the reste powdered and kepte in stoore for holydays. I am assured, the fare in Uenys is as good, as is in the moste partes of Italie. Uenys is as bygge, or very lyttell lesse, than London with the suburbes: yet is there more flesshe spent in two or thre monethes in London, than is there in a yere. We haue to many sawces, to many showynge hornes to drawe in meate. we knowe full lytel what we do, that make as though we cared not, who ruled in Englande. If a foreyne prince hadde the gouernynge of vs a whyle, thynke you, we shulde not be farre dysceyued, if we loked to lyue, as we nowe lyue, to do as we nowe do? Thynke you Daces wold not come in? ye knowe not what daces be, no dates I warrant you? I pray god ye neuer knowe them. This

I am

I am ſure, as longe as oure mooſte gracyouſe prince, kynge HENRY the. VIII, reygnethe ouer vs, whiche I praye god it be, vntylle his heires be of age, we ſhall nede feare no daces. They began properly to ſparſe pretye rumours in the North, that no man ſhulde eate whyte breade, no man eate pygge, goſe, or capon, without he agreed before with the kynge. They well bothe declared their malyce, and howe lyteil they had to lay againſte the kynges grace, whiche were compelled ſhamefully to fayne, ſuche abhomynable lyes agaynſt his highnes. The kyng entendeth no ſuche thynge. Woolde god bothe his grace wolde goo about to gette vs a better name in ſtraunge countreys, and we alſo content our ſelfes to haue it. we be called, I wote where, engliſhe bealyes. Who can not but be ſorie, to ſe a man bye ſo dere ſo many hurtes, as come of to moch meate? Who knoweth not, that the englyſhe ſwette, no olde ſyckues, and twenty other diſeales more, come euery day of inordinate feedynge? Neuertheleſſe, wytte, ye the verye mynde, whiche is immortall, almoſte is ſlayn with ſurfettis. The eyes, chaunge their colour, where they ſhulde be dyre, they falle to droppynge, their ſyght departeth. The eares ware dull of herynge, to be ſhorte, all the ſenſes be drowned with drynke, and cloyed with to moche feedyng. where as the belye is greatter than all the body beſyde, where the bealy raigneth, dothe not all honeſte craftes, all good inuentions want? what countrey hath inuented fewer thynges than Englande? Be our wittes

worse than other mens be? No no, there is no faut but ours, that wyll haue them no better. Is it not a shame, that we can not be as discrete, as wyse, as the brute beastes are? Doo they drynke, but whan they are a thurste? Do they eate, but when they be hungrye? when dyd any man see a beast dye of a surfette? Men are some tyme in the faute, that bestes dye of drynkyng, they being to hote after their labour. Put a beast at lybertie, lette hym be at his owne fedynge, it wyll be long or he hurt hym selfe eyther by eatyng or drinking? Amonges vs, what syckenes kylleth so many, as meate and drynke? what pestylẽce ryddeth more than sustenance? Beslydes ỹ, for the more part pestilẽce cometh of outragious dyet, and doth lytel hurt, where mẽ can moderate their mouthes. Bibbers wil be offeded with hym, that shal go about to make them lyue better, to make them lyue longer, to make them rycher, to tourne theyr drynkyng money into stuffe of house holde. They enuye the duchemen, that drynke deper than they, why doo they not enuye the moyles aswell, that drynke as moche as duchemenne, and yet fall not vnder the maunger, as they do vnder the bourde? we haue lost bothe the good thynges, that antiquitie vsed, and chaunged also the names of theym that we haue. He is called a louer, that doth al he may, to make an honest womã naught. If her louer entend to take away her honestie, her good name, what shall he do that hateth her? Euen so we call that good fare, that doth vs moost hurt, and that euyl chere, that doth vs most good.

I thynke he ſuppeth euyll, that for his good ſup-
per kepeth his bedde a ſeuen nyght after. You wyl
thynke I knowe London well, that make this of-
fer vnto you. Blyndefelde me, carye me after to
what place ye woll, I wyl lyttell fayle, to tel where
ye ſet me, and before whoſe dooze. They that know
not my cunnynge, wyll ſkace beleue me. I praye
you can ye ſet me in any place, but I may ſay, and
lye lyttell, I am nowe before a Tauerne or an ale
howſe? Fayle I maye, but farre I can not fayle.
In Italy it is all moſte as moche ſhame for an ho-
neſt man to come out of a tauerne betwene meles,
as it is here to come frō the banke. In Uenis there
is no moo tauernes, thenne there be innes, neyther
wyne is to be ſolde by the quarte, but in the innes,
bicauſe it becometh none to bye after ſuch faction,
but ſtrangers, & thoſe that can not tary longe in a
place. How moch good myght a few good men do?
a fewe myght ſo begyn to redreſſe this errour, that
there ſhulde nede no lawe to cōpell men to do them
ſelfe good. who was amonge the Romans, but he
myght fynd in his hart to haue fewer dyſhes, whā
Manius Curius, beyng dictatour, that is in the
higheſt office, that any man coude beare in Rome,
was contented, not onely to lyue with wortes, but
alſo glad to ſtyre the potte hym ſelfe, and to gyue
Ambaſſadours theyr anſweres as he was kelynge
the potte? we banyſhed the beſt thyng, that euer
was with manne, when frugalitie was dryuen a-
way. we knowe not what welth is in ſmal thinges,
nor yet what ryches is in contented pouertie. Po-

uertye hath ben the inuentrice of all good craftes, and of al other thynges, that eyther gyue ornamētes, or bryngē cōmodities vnto mans lyfe. Recken but one goodthynge, that a welthy person hath inuēted, a thousād euyl I can reherse. Pouertie hath ben the maker of al ryche realmes. What citie had a power begynnynge than Rome? what lesse Ryches, then Uenys? what kyng was power, then the kynge of Portyngale?

¶ Socrates was axed, howe his comon welthe shulde withstand the malice of a rycher, seing that he wolde the communes to haue very lyttell, and thother neuer a deale to moche. Howe they maye withstande one, sayth he, I nede not telle you, but I am sure, they shalbe good inough to fyght ayēst two, if they bothe be welthy and ryche ynoughe. Howe so saythe Adimanthus? Euer sayth Socrates, one power soudiour, is good inoughe for two ryche in batayle. He is quycke, these are dulle, he leane and lusty, these fatte and foggy, he made to hunger, thurst, and hardenes, these delycate and deed, if they be a nyght or two out of theyr nestes. Howe shall they fyghte well, that it. or. iii. shildes woll skace couer theyr belyes?

¶ Who wyll beleue, that Scipio so worthy a capitayn of the Romayns, could leue his doughters nothyng to theyr mariages, but the comune welth fayne to gyue them their dowries? what Romains coulde thinke pouertie to be refused, whan so noble a manne was contente with it? I can not tarye in exāples. Cincinnatus, Fabricius, and many other

I muste

I muste not speake of. It is scace credyble, that Plutarche wrytethe of a capitayne of the Lacedemonians. Euermore whan this wente to warfare, they were fayne to gyue hym money out of the comune hutche, to bye hym botis and showes. what souldiour coulde thinke hym selfe poore, when he sawe his cappytayne haue so lytel? They were contented, with suche extreme pouertie: and doo we thynke it lawfull, because we be not so ryche as we wold be, to rise ayenst our prince? & this our prince so louyng, so lerned, so made of nature to a kyngdom, so endued of god with all such princely vertues, as are to beautifie a comon welth? coude we, if we knewe what we dyd, go agaynst kynge HENRY the VIII, of whom I wyll say nothynge but this, that his gracis fame and prayse, can not falle, but when all good letters fall, which can not be before men leaue the erthe, and the erth men. I wyll saye nothyng of myn owne. Al be it me thynke it moch apperteyneth to hym, that wyll handel this mater well, bothe to shewe, howe moche Englande is bound to loue his grace, and howe moch we ought to hate all them, that wolde his grace any euyll: But I wyll let Erasmus, the greatteste lerned man of our tyme, speke for me, Harke what he sayth of our kynge.

¶ WHAT REGION of this world is there, but it may reioise at the high felicitie of England, if it loue Englande? what nation, but it may enuy the welthe of Englande, if it loue not Englande? Undoubted it is a kynge, that eyther makethe a

a Realme noble, or that obscureth it: with whatte bookes, with howe many sortes of tongues, shall the posteritie testifie, that Englande in all kynd of vertue so flourysshed in kynge Henry the. viii. his tyme, a prince sent of god vnto Englande, whiche may seme but euen nowe to be borne, euen now to be Englande, so clensed of euyll customes and vices, so imbued with all excellent ordinaunces, that Massilia it selfe, may here take example of ciuilytie, soo instituted with Christes faythe, that Rome nowe may come to schole to Englande: soo stuffed with lerned men, that Italye may enuy England, saynge that enuye hath no place, where good letters reigne: Englande hath a kynge, whiche may be a rule vnto all princis, that hereafter shall gouerne any comune welthe. Good lorde this this in dede is a kyngedome, This is a Princelyke court, that his grace kepethe. I lette passe the greatte gyftes, that god hath endued so abundantly bothe his gracis goodly personage and mynde, which al be it they come of god, rather than of our industry: yet they are hyghely profytable to a comune welth, whā they light on a good prīce. And although this many yeres, it hath ben smal praise in a prince to be well lerned, yet his hyghnes shall bring it to passe, ȳ as in time past it hath ben the chiefe ornament of a kynge, to be lerned, soo it shall here after, be iudged hyghe prayse worthy, a kyng to excel in knowlege. His gracis singuler qualities shall declare them but fooles, that are wonte to saye, that noble courage of princely stomake, is moch defaced, mo-

the broughte downe by lernynge and studye. For
what kynge can they brynge forthe, that hath ben
without letters, whiche had more dexteritie, in any
feate that belongeth to a prince, than his highnes
hath? so made of nature apte to euery thyng, that
in rydynge, shotyng, and suche other common pa-
stimes, there be fewe, that are to be compared with
hym. There be fewe kyndes of muslyke, but his
grace hath a good knowlege in them. wonderful-
ly well seene in the sciences Mathematycall. who
can be more diligenter, in oppressyng vice: he hath
dryuen out of his realme, those that lyued by mis-
chiefe, he hath netted his realme of ydle vacabun-
des. (wold god his grace had done but the one, as
welle as he hathe intended to doo bothe) He hath
sette vppe good lawes, and abrogated suche as
were vnprofitable for his people. who is more pru
dent in consultation? who can better forsee, that
is lyke to chance, than he can? who can be of more
actiuitie? and yet in letters, he hath gone so farre,
perchaunce not by no great studye, but by the rare
quickenes of witte and boūtie of nature, that diui
nes, ye and those that are amonges them beste ler-
ned, do admire, and highely commende the right
iudgement, that his grace hath in soo many thyn-
ges. Then he hath also this vertue, as chiefe of al
the rest his moofte princely qualities, that there is
none more gentler, to be spoken vnto, none that
hath lesse disdayne, none that hath lesse pryde, the
maiestie not withstandynge of a prince, euermore
safe and in no poynte diminyshed. The wyttes of

lerned

lerned men, whom his grace hath euermore so no-
ryshed, and hath ornated, wylle not suffre the me-
morie of suche his excellente vertues to decaye by
any proces of tyme. No no bothe the eloquence of
latyn menne and grecians, shall euer testifie, that
there was one kyng Henry the eight in England,
whiche alone had all the ornamentes, that al these
pynces had amonges them, the study and loue to-
ward good letters, Ptholomeus Philodelphus
had, the good fortune of Alexander Magnus, the
gentle affabilitie, that Philip kynge of the Mace-
dons had, the noble courage of Julius Cesar, the
helthe of Augustus, the clemencye of Traianus,
the integritie of Alexander Seuerus, the lernyng
and knowlege of Marcus Antonius Pius, the re-
ligion of Theodosius, and to make an ende, where
vertues space letteth me fynd any ende, there was
nothinge allmooste in any of those, whiche thanti-
quitie so highly praiseth, that had any notable qua-
litie, but it may be found in this one prince. Thus
sayth Erasmus.

¶ I myght bringe in many places of Ludouicus
Viues, of al them that eyther haue ben lerned them
selfe, or loued lerned men: but Erasmus I thynke
hath sayd ynough, for to make al vs glad of suche
a prince. I wyl say, that I am assured, all the lor-
des of Englande wyl grant me, that if they were
all borne to be right enheritours of the Crowne of
Englande, yet amonges them al, there is not one,
whiche they myght thynke worthy to be kyng, his
grace being alyue, Al be it their title were as good

as

as his gracis is. Nowe when god hath gyuen his highnes only good title, and made him theyr right and natural kyng, and them his Subiectes, what shal we thynke, they ought to do, in defence of his gracis right and honour? They knowe ryght wel, they haue declared their hartis towardes his highnes. The nobles haue well perceyued, as they be the strength of the kynge, so he and his lawes, are their defence and saulfegarde. They know the fal of thone, is the fall of bothe. The dukes, worthy all hye prayse, all honour, all rewarde, haue shewed them selfes, bothe wyse, in seinge their owne huttes, to be adioyned with the kynges, and faythfull, in defendynge theyr pryncc. The lordes haue done semblable wise. Knyghtes lacked not of their parte. Gentlemen, and briefely al men, haue sene, that sedition, is sooner to be stopped with losse of goodes, great expenses, then that men of one nation, shulde cruelly one kyll an other. The kynges grace, both by his long experience, and also by his knowlege in good letters, wel perceyueth, that the chiefe honour, that a christen prince shulde seke, is the sauynge of his people. His grace knoweth the ende of ciuyle discorde. He knoweth the commodities, that come of concorde and vnitte. In tyme of ciuile dissention, men wander here and there, sure in no place, trustynge no man, suspectyng all thinges, affrayed almoste of their owne shadowe. Cities made for the welthe of thenhabitantes, are the distruction of all, or the moste parte of them, that are within them. Walles made to kepe out ennemyes

mynes, kepe vs from flieng our ennemies. Howses, townes, ye hole cities, are hurled oft to the grouñd, then foloweth the last parte of the playe. Hunger, thyrste, lacke of lodgynges, lacke of other necessaries. Al craftes are distroyed, or at the leest hyndered for a longe season: after horse and oxen, that shuld tyll the erthe, are taken away. But the most hurte of all is, that we lerne to set god and his lawes at noughte, what shall he thynke vnlaufull, what vnhoneste, that thynketh he maye weare harnes agaynst his prynce? slepe his countreye men? neyghbours? frendes? kynsfolke? ye brothern and systerne? fathers and mothers? Whan Pyrrhus kynge of the Epirotes was settyng forthe agaynst the Romayns, in defence of the Tarentins, Cineas a philosopher, in moche fauour with hym, asked Pirrhus what he wold do, whan he had ouercome the Romayns? All Italye sayth he, shortely after shal be ours. Wel, whan Italy is vnder you, what wyl you than do? Than we wol sayle into Secilia. This wonne, whether then? we wol into Spayn. This ouercome, is there any more to doo? Ye then we woll set vppon Carthago. Imagine sayth Cineas, ye haue obteyned this also, Haue ye it, that ye desyre? ye sayth he, forthen, we woll retourne to Epirus againe, and there passe the rest of our life in myrthe and pleasure. Then I praye you, why maye we not make mery nowe? why be we not afrayed, that somwhat chaunce in so many warres, that we lese this, which we foolyshely seke, hauing it in our handes?

Maye

May not I say so vnto ours? Put you the case, as you woll ymagine, you haue the better hande, howe be it, better it is to be kylled, thanne to conquere, fightyng ageynst your prince. Yet imagin, euery thinge go on your side as you desire. Can it chance so well, but many of you muste wayle? He that is ouercomme shall wepe, ye say. Trowe you they shall laugh that wynne? Thynke you myrthe can be within theym, that euermore shall thynke, god hateth them? the world abhorreth them? Lette vs agree, lette vs agree, let vs se, what good concorde amonges men doth. Concord brought them together, that wãdered without places, euer in fere one of thother. Concord made lawes, cõcorde builded cities, increased and conserued them. Concord brought in all honest craftes. Concorde bringethe riches, whiche by dissention we seke maddely. In tyme of peace wittes atteyn vnto lernyng, vertue, and wysedome. Concorde maketh vs the frendes of god, the inheritours of heuen, parttakers of al the ioyes, that god hath prepared for them, he beste loueth. All that feare god, all that loue his fauour, wyl say as I do. we woll peace, we woll no dissention, we haue oft sene the good that cometh of ruffelynge, the good that cometh of chaungynge. We haue ben some tymes tourned from Brytones into Saxons, frõ Saxons into Danes. The Normans haue ben our gouernours. we haue euer chãged for the worse. we woll kepe our strength for an other season. we shall haue a better tyme, a worse quarell we can not haue, to spende our bloode in.

we

we woll out enemies laughe not at our distructiō, we wol that they be not mery at our calamitie, whi che can not be mery, excepte they see vs sadde, we woll be frendes, God saue Englande as it is, if al Englythe men say so to, I am sure, God wyll saye Amen.

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS THOMAE BERTHELETI REGII IMPRESSORIS.

CVM PRIVILEGIO.